Zl: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

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Khasi Kinship Terms in four Dialects

By U. R. Ehrenfels, Ph D. (Vienna)

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I. Introductory Remarks

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Professor K. P. Chattopadhyay (Calcutta University) published in 1941 an analysis of Khasi kinship terms [1] based on eight genealogies which he collected in the Mawphlang area, about sixteen miles south-west of Shillong [2]. He discussed in this paper a previous publication by Professor Hodson [3] where special features of certain Khasi kinship terms are held to prove the pre-existence of a dual system in a one-time Khasi social order and he quotes also the late Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy's work on Khasi kinship [4] and lists of Assamese relationship terms, contained in "Census of India Reports" [5] and Khasi terms in U Nissor Singh's "Khasi-English Dictionary" [6], P. R. T. Gurdon's monograph on the Khasi [7] and in Sir Keith Cantlie's "Notes on Khasi Law" [8]. Discussing these previously published papers, Chattopadhyay arrives at the conclusion that Hodson's hypothesis of a dual organisation in a hypothetical former Khasi society was not justified [9].

601 1.1. 128

The present paper, however, does not enter into discussion of this

[1] Chattopadhyay (1941).
[2] Ibid., p. 1.
[3] Hodson (1921).
[4] Roy (1921).
[5] McSwiney (1901), pp. 74/75. The Census Report of 1891, quoted by Chattopadhyay (1941), p. 1, is not available to me at the time of writing.
[6] Nissor Singh (1906).
[7] Gurdon (1906).
[8] Cantlie (1936).
[9] Chattopadhyay (1941), pp. 27, 28.

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question and indeed has been compiled without knowledge of Professor CHATTOPADHYAY's work, and before he very kindly sent a private copy of this work, which had not been available to me previously.

The present paper offers data on the following subjects:

1. Khasi kinship terms from the Mawshai Khasi plateau-area in the Khyrim State, about 20 to 30 miles south-east of Shillong, which are in some minor details different from the Mawphlang data, collected by CHATTOPADHYAY, south-west of Shillong;
2. Comparative data from the Wár-Khasi;
3. from the plateau-area of Jowai in the Jaintia [29] Hills, and
4. from the Wár-Jaintia;
5. Aspects of the Khasi kinship terms, with special reference to the matrilineal order of society, and to the respective position of women and men there, especially the particular consideration which the biological relationship through the father receives in kinship terminology, in spite of the emphasis on the matrilineal structure in Khasi society (comp. term No. 1 of the list and its discussion in para 3/b of the present paper, on p. 409).

The data were collected in field researches to which I was enabled by two Research Grants for comparative studies in matrilineal civilizations of India, given by the Viking Fund Inc. (now: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research) in New York, during the periods 1949-50 and 1951-52. My gratefulness to the foundation for enabling me to carry out these field researches, as well as to the University of Madras, for granting me Sabbathical leaves for the same purpose, is here once more recorded.

My research programme was based on the first tentative working hypothesis, laid down in my book "Mother-right in India" [30], but includes also various other aspects of study which have not been pre-planned, or even considered there [31], as for instance also the present comparative study of kinship terms in areas of four Khasi dialects and their special significance to the Khasi matrilineal social system. The material was collected during a five weeks house-to-house study in the recently founded Plateau Khasi village Maw Syn Jri, during April and May 1950. This village consisted mostly of houses, owned by Khasi elder sisters and inhabited by them, with their families, after they had left the ancestral home in the main village Kharang, about one mile across the valley on the western side of the new settlement. The ancestral family houses there were in the possession of either the mother, or, if she was no more alive, the youngest daughter of the family, the *ka khon khaddu* [32].

[29] Jaintia, (Pnar or "Synteng") are the Khasi speaking eastern neighbours of the Khasi proper. As among the Khasi, so also among Jaintia the people in the cool plateau highlands are in many ways different from those who settled in the lowlying tropical rainforests of the southern slopes, now situated just north of the East Pakistan frontier: — the so-called War-country, where economy is mainly based on pan-leaf gardening.

[30] EHRENFELS (1941).

[31] EHRENFELS (1950/A), (1950/B), (1950/C), (1950/D), (1950/E), (1951/C), (1951/D).

[32] GURDON (1906), pp. 66, seq., CHEYNE (1936), p. 11.

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105 [175] [197] It will here be recalled that the Khasi are a matrilineal agricultural people, pre-litterate until the advent of the British in the sixth decade of the 19th century, organized under democratically ruling *siem*, or Khasi princes and chieftains and speaking an Austro-Asiatic language [14]. Their 144 physical affinities are unmistakably mongoloid and quite distinct from the Assamese speaking plains-Indians, — but not from the other mountaineers of Assam, Nepal and even Burmah or China, with whom they feel to be more closely related, as with the Indian plainspeople, as some of the tribal designations in the following lists of terms for Non-Khasi testifies (comp. No. 41 as against No. 42, 43 and 43/a-c).

114 122 In the collection of the material, I was hampered by my inability to pick up the Khasi language sufficiently quickly, for conversation without the help of an interpreter, but on the other hand greatly eased by generous and voluntary assistance on the part of several Khasi friends, especially U Ekimar Singh, the President, Unitarian Union, Khasi- and Jaintai Hills and his (Khasi) wife, Ka Austria [15], who offered me hospitality in their house at Maw Syn Jri, during my stay there. Dr. H. LYNGDOH, Shillong, the author of detailed accounts on Khasi religious ceremonial and institutions [16], U Jeeban Roy, a leading Pnăr gentleman of Jowai in the Jaintia Hills, Ka Ellen Giri, Principal, Govt. Basic Education Training Centre, Malki, Shillong, Ka Kongmen, Shillong, and U David Roy, Prime Minister (retd.), and a number of hospitable Wâr Khasi and Wâr-Jaintia pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hills, especially from the villages Mawlai and Padu, also helped me greatly in my task. My thanks are due to all of them.

101 114 The data, submitted and briefly described in this paper were thus collected in four different areas.

1. The South-eastern corner of the Khasi-Hills (plateau-area),
2. the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, the "Wâr-Khasi country" between the Khasi plateau proper and the northern boundary of East Pakistan,
3. the central plateau of the Jaintia Hills, round its capital market Jowai, and
4. the southern slopes of the Jaintia Hills, the "Wâr-Jaintia country" between these and a section of the northern boundary of East Pakistan, further to the East than area 2.

197 Slightly different Khasi dialects are spoken in these four regions, Jaintia (Pnăr or "lyntong") and Wâr-Jaintia being more akin to each other, similarly as Plateau-Khasi and Wâr-Khasi are.

101 195 The Pnăr or Jaintias ("lyntong" is a slightly opprobrious designation, used by the Plateau-Khasi for these, their eastern neighbours) look back

[553]

[14] SCHMIDT (1906).

[15] Surnamed, because Austria was much in the news at the time of her birth, during the last world war; — a fact which illustrates the Khasi peculiarity to use either old or inventions as names for children, or to adapt such, from the Khasi point of view, outlandish words like "Ka Austria" or "Ka Mediterranean Sea" as names for their children.

[16] LYNGDOH (1957).

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on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wâr-Khasi and Wâr-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wâr-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wâr-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wâr-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wâr-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wâr-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wâr-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wâr-Khasi and Wâr-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmukor village, the ancestors of the present Wâr people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wâr-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

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my informants at Padu), in the year 1933, is said to have begun the cultivation of yam (*shuiw*) and millets (*knei*) in the then uncultivated slopes. He and his people used to be, on this account, ridiculed as monkeys (*shrieh*). The Nonglamin clan took later to pan-leaf-, and arecanut-cultivation and became one of the richest landowners of the Wár-country. Others followed and imitated them. This clan (*kur*) is now residing at Nongtalang, about ten miles east of Padu in the Wár-Jaintia slopes.

This possibility of a comparatively recent origin of the now economically independent Wár-groups among the Khasi speaking peoples is of importance to the question of some different terms in kinship terminology which the following lists will show.

Comments on other features in the relationship terminology, bearing on sociological or historical problems of either among the four Khasi speaking groups under discussion, are being hinted at in the text of the lists itself and further discussed in Part Three of the present paper, following the lists of kinship terms.

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II. The List of the Kinship Terms

(*u* is the definite article masc. gen.; *ka* — the definite article fem. gen. Both are prefixed to proper nouns and then assume the meaning and function of the English Mr. and Mrs. [or Miss] respectively.)

No.	English	Plateau Khasi	Wâr Khasi	Pnâr (Jaintia)	Wâr Jaintia
1.	To give birth or beget :	*kha* (noun : *jyng kha*)	*kha*	*kha*	*dikun*
1/a.	To give birth to a girl :	*kha kynthei*	*kha kynthei*	*kha kynthai*	*dikun kynthah* (*kinthai*)
1/b.	To give birth to a boy :	*kha shynrang*	*kha shynrang*	*kha shynrang*	*dkun tyrnai* (*tyrnai*)
1/c.	To give birth twins :	*kha synrap*	*kha bynrap*	*kha synrap* (or : *arngai*)	*dikun brap*
2.	Child :	*khynnah* (with *u* and *ka* respectively)	*khun* (or : *khunlung*) (*u* and *ka*)	*khyu ho* (with *u* and *ka*)	*kimboi* (with *u* and *ka*)
2/a.	Childhood :	*ka jinglong khunlung*	*ka jinglong khunlung*	*ka porkhynnah*	*ka kymbotlung*
3.	Puberty of a girl or boy :	*sdang samla* (or : *khynraw*)	*jan samla*	*sdang khyllud*	*khyarong darow*
3/a.	Marriageable girl :	*ka samla* (or : *khynraw*)	*ka samla* (or : *khynraw*)	*ka khyllud*	*ka darow*
3/b.	Marriageable man :	*u samla* (or : *khynraw*)	*u sahla* (or : *khynraw*)	*u khynro*	*u darow*
4.	Woman :	*ka* (or : *ka kynthei*)	*ka* (or : *ka kynthei*)	*ka kynthai*	*ka* (or : *ka kyntha rangbah*)
5.	Man :	*u* (or : *u shynrang*)	*u* (or : *u shynrang*)	*u* (or : *u chynrang*)	*u* (or : *u tyrnu rangbah*)
6.	Article of respect : *i* (instead *u* or *ka*)	for both sexes is a term of diminution : used as honorific prefix ; but has a contemptuous meaning in the Jaintia dialects			
	Parents :				
7.	Mother :	*i mei* (-addressing) ; *kmie* (-referring)	*i mei* ; — *kmie*	*ka kei*	*ka ma*
8.	Father :	*i pa* (-addressing) ; *kpa* (-referring)	*i pa* ; — *kpa*	*u pa* ; *pain*	*u pa*
9.	Siblings and maternal cousins :	*para* (-referring only)	*para*	*pain*	*para*
9/a.	"Brethren" ; as in the phrases :	*para lum* — "Brethren Hill (tribesmen)"	— (?)	— (?)	— (?)
		para kristan — "Christian Brethren"			

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No.	English	Plateau Khasi	War Khasi	Pnar (Jaintia)	War Jaintia
9/b.	Maternal cousins:	*para kur* (*kur* — clan)	— (?)	— (?)	— (?)
9/c.	Paternal cousins (and half-siblings through the father):	*para kha* (*kha* — birth, or: begetting)	— (?)	— (?)	— (?)
9/d.	Older sisters, or female cousins:	*kung* (-addressing); *kyuuru* (-referring)	*ka tih*	*puin ure kuh*	*ka tah*
9/e.	Older brother, or male cousin:	*kuh* (-addressing); *kyuuru* (-referring)	*u tih*	*u sne*	*u tah kynha*
9/f.	Younger siblings and cousins (and other young folk):	*kep* (-addressing); *para* (referring if matrilin).	*iem*	*diah*	*ka* — sister *para* — brother
10.	Spouses:	*kuh*	*kuh*	*ahkaw*	*kah* (or: *kaang*)
10/a.	Wife:	*ka kuh* "friend" (-addressing); *ka lupa* (-referring)	*ka kuh*; *ka lupa*	*ka ahkaw*	*ka kah*; *ka kaang*
10/b.	Husband:	*u kuh* (-addressing); *u lupa* (-referring)	*u kuh*; *u lupa*	*u ahkaw*	*u kah*; *u kaang*
11.	Children:	*khaw*	*khaw*	*khaw*	*kaa*
11/a.	Daughter:	*ka khaw*	*ka khaw*	*ka khaw*	*ka kaa kynha*
11/b.	First Daughter:	*khaw nyngkong* (or: *pkong*, or: *ahna*)	*khaw nyngkong*	*ka khaw nukuh* — "first"	*ka kaa pkong*
11/c.	Middle or younger daughters:	*khaw pdeng* (= *kadiew*)	*khaw lud*	*ka khaw nuhud* — "second"	—
11/d.	Youngest daughter:	*khaw khaddah* (or: *khong kpah* — "chaud the womb")	*khaw khyrdah*	*ka khaw synshuf* (or: *nuhud*) — "third"	*ka kaa khaddah*
11/e.	Son:	*khaw*	*khaw*	*khaw*	*kaalyrnaa*
11/f.	First son:	*khaw nongkong* (or: *pkong*, or: *ahna*, = *nongkuh*)	*nongkuh* (or: *ahna*, or: *nongkong*)	*khaw nukuh* — "first"	*kaalyrnaa*
11/g.	Middle or younger sons:	*khaw pdeng* (= *nti* — "small, young")	*khaw lud*	*khaw nuhud* — "second" (or: *synshuf*)	*kaalyrnaa pkong*
11/h.	Youngest son:	*khaw khaddu*	*khaw khaddu*	*khaw nuhud*	—

No.	English	Pnar Khasi	War Khasi	Pnar (Jaintia)	War Jaintia
	Grand parents:				
12.	Mother's mother:	*mniaid*	*maiñkñ*	*kni jiaw*	*maiñiaw*
12a.	Mother's father:	*piaraid*	*piañkñ*	*piajiaw*	*mañkiaw*
12b.	Father's mother:	*mni kha* [a]	*kmo kha* [a]	*mmo*	*mmmo*
12c.	Father's father:	*piaraid* (or : *pa kha*) [a]	*piaraid, piañkñ*	*mañ*	*mañmmo*
13.	Mother's sisters (and female cousins):	*kmie* (descriptive)	(?)	(?)	(?)
13a.	Mother's elder sister:	*mni ase* (*ase* — elder)	*mni ase*	*kni kñ*	*mni kmg*
13b.	Mother's younger sister:	*mni khyrwah* (*mniwah*) (*khyrwah* — younger)	*mni mñ*	*kni dñk*	*mni jlong*
14.	Mother's brothers (and male cousins):	*kñi* (descriptive)	(?) *kñi* is not used, but understood by War Khasi (*see* sub : "Husband's or wife's father" *word No. 31b in this list*).		
14a.	Mother's elder brother:	*kñi* (or : *mai*) *rangkñ*	*ñi kmñ* (*ñi kmñ siaw*)	*mo ase* (*addressing*) ; *kñi* (*referring*)	*miaw kmg*
14b.	Mother's younger brother:	*khyrwah* (or : *mo khyrwah*)	*ñi kmñ* [*id*]	*mo dñk* (*addressing*)	*kmjiaw, miaw dñk*
15.	Father's sisters (m. and y.):	*kha kha*	*kha kha* (*elder* : *pa ase, or* : *kha rangkñ*) (*younger* : *ñi, or* : *khyrwah*)	*elder* : *kha ase* ; *younger* : *kha mni*	*elder* : *pa ase or* : *pa kmg* ; *younger* : *ngi*[b] *mmo*[c]
15a.	Father's brothers and cousins:	*kpa kha* [a] (descriptive)	(?)	(?)	(?)
15b.	Father's elder brother:	*pa ase*	*pa ase or* : (*ngi*)[b] *kñ*	*pa ase*	*pa kmg*
15c.	Father's younger brother:	*pa khyrwah*	*pa khyrwah, or* : *pa kñ, or* : *ngi kmñ kñ*	*pa mni*	*pa jlong*

[a] The *kha* (*ngi*) refers to the paternal side of relationship.
[b] *ngi* — indicates distinction and respect among Pnar (and War Khasi) like *i* among Khasi.
[c] *mmo* — indicates descent ("coming from") among War Jaintia ; like *kha* among Khasi.

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No.	English	Pictures Khasi	Who Khasi	Pain (Jaintia)	Who Jaintia
	Mother's co-have:				
01.	Mother's sister's husband:	elder: *pa sora*; younger: *pa Khynnuh*	*ngi pa* (elder and younger)	elder: *pa bok*; younger: *pa duk*	*pa* (with a — *jlew, jlong, duk, wong, ngi*) *ai*
01.a.	Mother's brother's wife:	*ka* (elder and younger)	*ka* (elder and younger)	*ka*	
	Father's co-have:				
01.	Father's sister's husband:	*jaddu*; addition: *ma, ma-ma, ai*	*bok*	*wase*	*wase mare*
01.a.	Father's brother's wife:	*kwai ai*: *ka* (elder sister, or: *mei mei*)	*wai*	*wainud*	*dei* (with a — *jlew, jlong, duk, wong*) *ka ngi*
02.	0/0 sisters and nephews:	*lilew* (with *ka* and *u*)	—	—	—
02.a.	sisters and nephews on maternal side:	*jlynse* (or: *lilew mut ka*; = *ranghilid*)	*jlew ar kwai* (with *ka* and *u*) (elder — *bok*; younger — *bai*)	*jlynse* (with *ka* and *u*) (elder — *bok*; younger — *bai*)	*jlynse* (elder than Ego — *bok*; younger — *bai* (with *ka* and *u*)
02.b.	sisters and nephews on paternal side:	*kwai lilew*	*kaddu* (elder *bok*; younger — *bai*)	*wakkar* (father's sisters children: *kong wakkar*, — father's brother's children: *jlew jaii*)	*kaddu* (with *ka* and *u* (elder) than Ego: *bok*; younger — *ka*
03.	03 maternal cousins and sisters siblings:	*jlew kor* (with *ka* and *u*) (*jlew* — brothers; *kor* — *char*)	—	—	—
03.a.	Mother's sister's children: (marriage among them — talked)	*jlew ar kwai* (03: children of two mothers)	—	—	—
04.	04 paternal cousins and paternal half-siblings:	*jlew lilew* (*jlew* — brothers; *lilew* — forgetting)	—	—	—
05.	Direct cousin:	*kaddu*	—	—	—
05.a.	Mother's brother's children: (marriage with *kaddu* permitted)	*kaddu* (descriptive) (Ego's elder — *kong*(acknowledg); Ego's younger — *bai* (acknowledg))	*jlew bok* (elder), (with *ka* and *u*) *jlew kor* (younger), (with *ka* and *u*)	*lilew wakka* (with *ka* and *u*) —	*bok* (elder), (with *ka* and *u*) *ka* (younger), (with *ka* and *u*)

No.	English	Pintupi-Luritja	Warlpiri	Kukatja	Walmatjari
31A.	Father's sister's children (marriage with Ambo permitted)	Ambo (descriptive) (Ego's elder female — Anay (abbreviating)) (Ego's elder male — Ant (abbreviating)) (Ego's younger — Anp (abbreviating))	Ambu-lpa (elder), (with the sex) o —	Ang-ambu (with the sex) o	Ba-tha (with the sex) o
31.	Father's brother's children (marriage between para kita [children of brothers, generally not allowed])	para tha (Ego's elder female — para Anay * (abbreviating)) (Ego's elder male — para Ant * (abbreviating)) (Ego's younger — Anp * (abbreviating))	ngk (elder), (with the sex) o ngk (younger), (with the sex) o	para pa (with the sex) o —	ba-tha (with the sex) o
32.	Grandchildren	Akwa Anay (with the sex) o	Ankw (with the sex) o	ak-kwa (with the sex) o	Ipmam (with the sex) o
32a.	Daughter's children	Ankw (with the sex) o	Ankw	Kwa	ipa
32b.	Son's children	Ankw tha (with the sex) o	Ankw tha	Kwa	Ipmam
33.	Great-grandchild (sometimes)	Akwa wonp	—	pakwa Kwa (with the sex) o	—
33.	Great-great child (sometimes)	Akwa Kwa	—	—	—
	Ascending Lines:				
34.	Maternal elder relatives including uncle	o Ki o Anay (G, maternal uncle and elder sisters, female cousins and them as here)	?	?	?
37.	Female relatives on the maternal side	Awiri ref	nwalkal (with the sex) o	?	nwalkal (with the sex) o nwalkal (with the sex) o

*** Anay, Ant and Anp are not necessarily added if abbreviating there.

No.	English	Plateau Mixtec	Yoloxochitl Mixtec	Peñoles Mixtec	Yosondúa Mixtec
45	Male relatives in seconds (eg maternal half-[] mother's grandson, [illegible] son's brother, etc.)	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—
46	Male relatives in the [illegible] wife's side	[illegible]	[illegible]	?	[illegible]
47	Female relatives on the husband's side	[illegible]	[illegible]	?	[illegible]
48	(1) [illegible] relatives	[illegible]	[illegible]	?	[illegible]
49	(2) [illegible] relatives	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]

Relationships of Man to Horse

No.	English	Plateau Mixtec	Yoloxochitl Mixtec	Peñoles Mixtec	Yosondúa Mixtec
50	Husband's or wife's mother	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
50a	Husband's or wife's father	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
50b	Husband's or wife's older sister	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
50c	Husband's wife's younger sister	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
50d	Husband's or brother's younger sister	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
50e	Husband's older sister's husband	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
50f	Husband's younger sister's husband	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—

No.	English	Phanom Rhadé	Wáy Rhadé	Polei (Jarai)	Wáy Jarai/Ha
(12g)	Husband's elder brother's wife	hnag hyeut	epuêne	ke hnag	ke, hyeut (or : bajeuk)
(12h)	Husband's younger brother's wife	kajé hyeut	epuêne	ke ke	ke, hyeut (or : bajeuk)

Words to be found (esp. designations)

(1)	Wife's sister's husband	jlaro dhuglâm (lit. : "brother-in-marriage")	jlaro dhong khe (lit. : "brother-in-marriage")	ekâm : e hnag prongan : e ke	—
(5)	Wife's/elder brother's wife	hnag (followed by younger sister)	—	—	—
(12c)	Wife's younger brother's wife	kajé (followed by younger sister)	—	—	—
(4)	Stepmother	ayet wah, hmoh wah	ayet wah	ke bunuê (stepfather — jlet)	ke ayet
(4h)					
(7)	Family	ke hnag — ke yom (bawan adâlé), ae ti dhom — ti ôh, ae ke jrap — thor — jlarong	ekâ hne — ekâ ane	nong	ekâ hne — ekâ jeuh
(8)	Clan community	t thor — t jeuh	t thor — t jeuh	ti hne	ekâ hne — ekâ jeuh
(9)	Matrilineal clan	hne	hne	hne	hne
(9)	Patrilineal clan	dok jeuh	jeuh hyeuk	—	jeuh hyeuk
(3)	Awareness recognition gregtic	jlaro hone hne (hne — hdih, awareness)	jlaro hone hne	ine hne (jlaro — yuenê)	jlaro je jlaro jlâng (jlaro — awareness)
(10)	Foreigner	ti hnag ser (chrang — village) ser — dlak	—	—	—
(6)	Personpronouns (orthographic)	dhâm	dhâm	dhâm	dhâm
(10a)	Nonchurch	ti nong jlarong (or : khah)	ti nong jlarong	ti nong jlarong	ti nong jlarong
(10b)	Nature	dhâm hnag (chrg — blanh)	t	t	t
(10c)	Foreigners	dhâm ti (ti — chrang)	t	t	t

III. Explanations

1. General

Most of my informants were illiterate. The spelling of the terms was checked and corrected by my English-speaking and writing Khasi and Pnar friends, mentioned in para one, to whom thanks are being here once more expressed. All responsibility for spelling mistakes, however, which may have slipped into this list has of course to be borne by me.

Blanks (–) or question marks (?) in one of the columns do not necessarily mean that there is no word used, by the respective group, for the particular term. They most often indicate that my informants did not use, or know, the particular term, or that I failed to enquire about it in a manner sufficiently clear to my informants. This is particularly true of general terms, partly or fully corresponding to English general terms, such as parents or grand-parents, or the terms No. 1(a and b, 11, 11(a, 11-2), and 20, which were partly explained to me, by Khasi friends in Shillong, where I stayed some time after completion of field-work during the rainy season. Hence I could no more return for verification to the little accessible War-villages in the steep southern slopes. Although I am planning to utilize a future opportunity for such checking up, I am yet publishing the present results in the hope that they may thus become accessible to field-workers among other S. E.-Asiatic, and especially Austro-Asiatic speaking peoples.

All terms which are equal for both sexes (cf. Nos. 11, 11, 10, 11, etc.) are used with no sex a respectively. Those underscoring proposed articles, as also the honorific i are specially mentioned in the list, only if this is essential for the understanding of the respective terms as in Nos. 3-5, 7, 8, or 11.

2. Special

Term No. 1 — to give birth or beget (kha) signifies also relation of the paternal side so as to form the (paternal cousins No. 11), in contradistinction to form No. 11, (11 — cousins of the clan), i. e. maternal cousins, since the clan is a matrilineal unit. This usage of the word kha appears also equivalently in the terms (1-a, 11, 11-1, 11, 11, 11 and, as an integral part of the Khasi kinship terminology, renders it highly improbable that the Khasi matrilineal system could have originated in ignorance of the biological function of the father. It is a significant feature in the matrilineal social system.

The terms 1 to 11 refer to unmarried but biologically marriageable youths. It will be noted that there are (and were in 1931) no indications of puberty-rites for either girls or boys. There is also no child-marriage among Khasi. The use of special terms for mature, unmarried youths is therefore significant.

Term 4 — i ga honorific article, is at the same time indicative of dominance [1], which is remarkable for two reasons: (firstly) the dominative is used for the elder and most respected family members, like the dominative

[1] Cassos Gates (1911), p. 61.

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of father to Russian (for the kar, etc.), (generally) the youngest, not the eldest, daughter performs the family rites and inherits the family property [601 [928]]. Even in cases where there is no woman to inherit, the youngest, not the eldest son inherits [96]. Among the conservatively matrilineal Pnar (Jaintia) this term of diminution is, however, carried at times a somewhat overemphasized meaning, though the necessity is strongly in force also among them. The subordinate position of this honorific term of diminution is thus significant (comp. term 9/e among Pnar and infra.)

Term 7 — *mother* (*i mei*) — The prefix *i* used among Khasi and War Khasi signifies particular reverence (supra: term 6). The classificatory character of the term has been discussed by Gurdon [193].

Term 9/f — *kit* for all younger siblings, cousins and even other young folk does not indicate the consideration which the terms 9/d — *dong* for elder sisters and female cousins, or 9/e — *kad* for their male equivalents indicate. The term *sen* (9/e among Pnar) stands here, as generally, for elder and implies a honorific meaning (comp. term 6 supra and term 11/e infra).

Terms 10/a and b show that husband and wife address each other by equal terms and do in no way indicate anything like an inferior position of either wives or husbands of which I did also not find any indications otherwise. It may here be mentioned that property rights even in newly established estates, vest in women and are inherited by women, — not generally men. [601 562]

Term 11/d — *ka khun khadduh* — the youngest daughter whose important position in Khasi religious ritual, social organization and inheritance law has already been referred to sub term 6 and described in detail elsewhere [601 [925]]. The affectionate character of this term finds vivid expression in the abbreviation *ka duh*, which I heard from sisters and the father of a youngest daughter.

Term 11/e — *mei sen* (mother's elder sister). The word *sen* (elder) here has a distinctly honorific character, although the *mei khynnah* — the mother's younger sister (term 11/f) may be the heir of Kpa's ancestral property. This constitution corresponds to the peculiar significance of terms 6, 9/d and especially 11/d (supra).

Terms 12, 13, 13/a, 14, 15/a, 15/b, and the terms for cousins 17, 18, 21/a, 21/b, 22 show, like term 7 — *mother* (*mynsi*), classificatory character. The restriction on cross-cousin marriage is of different nature, according as to whether they belong to different households, or not, as has been discussed by Gurdon [582].

Term 16/a — *ma* (mother's brother's wife) is basically the same as term 15 — *ma kha* (father's sister) [6] though the latter is qualified by the additional term *kha* (begetting, birth) which signifies paternal relationship (see: term 9/a, 6).

[6] Gurdon (1914), pp. 63, seq.; Gurdon (1906), p. 41.
[6] Gurdon (1906), p. 55.
[6] Gurdon (1914), pp. 63, seq.
[6] Gurdon (1914), pp. 61, seq. and Gurdon (1906), pp. 41, seq.
[6] Gurdon (1914), pp. 62, seq. 3.
[6] In detail discussed by Gurdon (1914), p. 61.

601 Terms 21 and 21a — *para kor* and *para kha* : the former for all cousins and half-siblings on the mother's and the latter for those on the father's side, show the consciousness of the matrilineal clan-affinity and the patrilineal biological relationship through their classificatory subdivision, which is also true of

Terms 21, 21a and 21.0 : — the *bakhe* are cross-cousins.

Terms 21.0 shows special consideration for the older paternal male cousin of the first degree, who is addressed as *bah* whilst the older maternal male cousin of the first degree is addressed as *kong*, like the older female cousins on both sides.

[92] Terms 23, 23a, 23.0, — *kmie* for grandchildren would appear to mean dog's children. It has, however, been pointed out to me, by Khasi friends, that the Khasi word for dog is *kure* ; not *kmie*. The Pnar (Jaintia) pronunciation is *kmi* for grandchildren, and the occasionally occurring designation of great-grandchildren as "rats children" (term 24) and of great-great-grandchildren as "rats children" (term 25), however, would appear rather to suggest the derivation of *kmie kmie* from *kum* — dog, than from a meaningless separate root.

[93] Term 24 — *kmie mum* (i. e. rats children) for great-grandchildren is used among Pnarisen Khasi families. Bronislaw considers with Cameron, E. Lucas on Leptogenius, Wallaceia and Echeverria the possibility that the name of the Mnong has been derived from rats[1]. This is a hill tribe, speaking a language with some similarity to the Mon-Khmer group[2] (to which also the Khasi language belongs). The Mnong are living not very far from the possible homeland of the Khasi around the region of S. China, N. Siam and Indo-China. If a parallel should here be assumed, the two complementary Khasi terms No. 23 (dogs children) and 24 (rats children) may appear to be formed on the basis of analogy with the term "rats children" as tribal self-designation. Another explanation, however, of this unusual kinship-term which was given to me by a Khasi friend, contended that such generation, seen from the ancestral parent's point of view, is as numerous as the young of the respective varieties of animals.

Term 25 — *kmie kmie* (rats children) *commune* — see : term 24. (supra).

601 Term 26 — *o Ki* — *o kong* as a honorific term for the maternal uncle and the husbands of the older sisters and older female cousins on the maternal side, illustrates the great respect shown to male relatives on the mother's side by adding the masculine preposition *o* to the word *kong*, which generally signifies older female maternal relatives, but to this case, their husbands (comp. term 21(a)). This usage of the term is reminiscent of the Brahmin ceremonies performed for male maternal ancestors, instead of for mothers, grandmothers, etc. It also tallies with my observations, otherwise obtained[3]

[1] Bronislaw (1957), pp. 6, 7.

[2] Bradley (1967), p. xvi, though he draws the exclusion of the Khasi into the Mon-Khmer group

[3] Cameron (1956, p. 9) ; (1956-A), pp. 6, 7, 8 ; (1956-B), pp. 72, 88, etc.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 ART Khasi ART

namely that male members of a matrilineal clan enjoy, among Khasi as among other matrilineal groups in India, a position which, far from unenviable, is a very high one in itself and doubly fortified by the respect which to the same male family member in being shown (a) in his capacity as the father of his children in his wife's clan (comp. term 4 of the list), and (b) in that of the maternal uncle (comp. terms 16, 16 a, 16 b and 20 and 20).

The terms 3)1)3, *i. g. h*, have classificatory character.

The term 3)1)a — *u kong* for the husband's elder sister's husband is one of the exceptions of the rule that *kong* generally signifies an honoured elder female relative but, as in this case, also her husband (comp. term 26).

Term 3)1)a *u pa* (father) in its usage among Pnar (Jaintia), also for stepfather is significant. A Pnar child has no legal clan-relationship with his/her biological father, who belongs to another (matrilineal) clan than the child and mother. Yet the honorific term *pa* is, among Pnar, also applied to a stepfather, although neither legal, nor biological but merely sociological relationship ex the mother, exists between stepfather and child. This use of the word *pa* thus seems to emphasize both, firstly the integration of the matrilineal family structure, by making an unrelated stepfather to be looked upon as father, owing to his relationship with Ego's mother and, secondly the important sociological and psychological position of the father in this matrilineal family structure which appears to go back to an old tradition among the Pnar.

Term 4) — *para* 'my fem.' (Assamese hill tribals) are characteristically termed *para* (Brothers), although they are different in many respects, from the Khasi, yet considered as definitely nearer related than all other neighbours, grouped under the

Term 5) — *dkhar* (pharmpoph) [*], — a term which varies in emotional content from contempt pure and simple to an attitude, somewhat parallel to what ordinary English usage would generally associate with the expression 'continental'. Marriages of Khasi girls and boys with *dkhar* do occur, though infinitely rarer than marriages of (generally educated) Khasi girls with (educated) *para* 'my fem. Nepalese, Gurkha or Chinese boys. One of the reasons which is usually being given for this preference for non-Indians is by no means colour-prejudice, but the taboo on either beef or pork which most *dkhar kong* [*] (Indians, Hindus or Muslims, respectively) observe; a taboo which they generally extend to their Khasi wives, thus preventing them from enjoying two favourite Khasi national dishes. Another more psychological reason is the overbearing treatment of wives, which is generally ascribed to *dkhar kong*, more even than to *dkhar k* [*]. It is in this connection

[*] Literally: Outdoor Mumsem (tribe).

[*] With *Dkhar* are here meant the *pharmpoph* as such, — not the Khasi *Dkhar* or *Dkhot* clans which are mostly, if not always, descended from ancestors who had been captured in the plains and brought to the Khasi Hills: comp. Gurdon-Ehrenfels 1950, pp. 30/31 and Ehrenfels (1950 ff), pp. 30/31.

[*] Literally: *Pharmpoph* man.

[*] Literally: *Pharmpoph* wife.

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significant that the reasons, given for the comparatively frequent marriages of Khasi girls with Chinese boys to sort the greater physical resemblance which a doubt exists between the average Khasi and the average Chinese (Dkhar)as compared to the average non-Chinese Dkhar (Indians, Europeans, Africans, Americans and others) but the belief that Chinese husbands are less domineering in their attitudes towards their wives, than are other Dkhar.

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